Aspects of Ukrainian traditional conservatism

Koshetar Uliana Petrivna¹,
Lytvynska Svitala Vitalyivna²,
Shevchuk Inna Leonidivna³

¹ Candidate of Historical Sciences, Associate Professor,
Associate Professor of the Department of Ukrainian Language and Culture;
National Aviation University; Ukraine

² Candidate of Philological Sciences, Associate Professor,
Associate Professor of the Department of Ukrainian Language and Culture;
National Aviation University; Ukraine

³ Candidate of Philological Sciences, Associate Professor,
Associate Professor of the Department of Ukrainian Language and Culture;
National Aviation University; Ukraine

Abstract. The article is devoted to the analysis of aspects of Ukrainian traditional conservatism in the context of sustainable development and information society. Possibilities of implementing the fundamental heritage of the domestic conservative school in political and social life are explored. It is proposed to consider the stages and basic concepts of scientific communication. Attention is paid to the historical connection between Galician conservatism and the ideology of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. The article deals with aspects of Ukrainian ideology of conservatism as a factor in the preservation of national identity in the information society.

Keywords: information society, globalization, universalism, conservatism, national characteristics, socio-economic development, Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church
The phenomenon of «information society» reflects the objective trend of a new stage in the evolutionary development of the civilization, associated with the implementation of information and telecommunication technologies. The advancement of these technologies entails qualitative changes of government agencies, civil society institutions, economic and social sphere, science, education, culture and lifestyle of people.

Global changes occurring in the economic and social sphere in the last decades, the formation of information society and communication technologies are setting new challenges for the world community. In these circumstances, the role of higher education is growing. Higher education and science are important factors in the social development and national and global priorities. They are a component of cultural, social and economically sustainable development of individuals, communities and nations. Qualitative changes in education and science are caused by the increasing share of information and communication technologies, the creation of a global information space. The latter provides effective information interaction between people and their access to global information resources.

In the information society, education is based on modern information technology, globalization of the educational process content, is focused on the systemacity of disciplines taught and on a person’s cultural and spiritual development. The main principle of a modern person’s outlook is intersubjectivity, which is a factor providing society consolidation based on preserving the integrity of social, political, economic and cultural life. In this regard, let us distinguish the technology of educational activities: formation of the social intersubject (implementation of achievements of Humanities and Social Science in the sphere of formation and development of social structure, culturological, ideological, information social technologies, and social management).

The concept of conservatism is one of the most complicated ones in the modern political life. The 20th century introduced several schools of political philosophy (Great Britain, France, Ukraine, etc.) that rooted the conservative ideology
in view of the state national specificity. Accordingly, the methods of implementing the conservative principles differed.

In modern Ukraine, the conservative ideology is largely a subject of scientific discourse. The issue of organizing «the practical side» arises, particularly – of realizing the fundamental heritage of the domestic conservative school in political and public life. The above actualizes the combination of Ukrainian scientists and educators’ efforts to promote the ideology of Ukrainian conservatism (based on the theoretical heritage of Ukrainian conservatives V. Lypynsky, O. Nazaruk, S. Tomashivsky, V. Zalozetsky and practice of UGCC in Galicia in early 20th century). It is feasible to introduce the latter while studying relevant topics of the Ukrainian philosophy, political science, religious studies, using a systematic approach. This makes it possible to examine the relations and integrity of complex objects. At the same time, the whole (conservatism system) is determined by features of elements (the components of the conservatism ideology), and the elements are determined by the whole and acquire functional explanation within it. The following operations are used: studying of the subject (conservatism system), determining the subject changes over time (depending on the changes in the historical context of the environment), determining the structure of the subject. This article is an attempt to analyze conceptual approaches to the formation of the conservatism ideology in Galicia and theoretical research of Ukrainian conservatives S. Tomashivsky and V. Zalozetsky, research of historical connection between Galician conservatism and the ideology of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. We also aimed to adapt the investigation to the requirements the domestic sociopolitical sciences have been facing within the transition to the information society, taking the socio-psychological factor of globalization into account. In particular, it implies a gradual leveling of social ties and traditions of different peoples, which may subsequently lead to the emergence of a qualitatively new outlook, the formation of a superethnos (based on the merger of nations and peoples) and a megasociety with a single culture. In our opinion, in terms of integration and unification processes, it is necessary to save and promote
national identity. There is no doubt that the entry of certain countries in the information society does not deny the existence of national peculiarities and the need to preserve them.

The first works devoted to current issues of the conservative-clerical movement belong to active participants in social and political life of Galicia in late 19th – the first half of the 20th century. Among the authors one should call V. Zalozetsky, K. Levytsky, O. Barvinsky, A. Sheptytsky, M. Stakhiv, and S. Tomashivsky. The mentioned ideologists and researchers define such features of Christian-conservative ideology: principles of the Christian religion and Christian ethics dominate the interests of the state and nation; the term “Christian” is regarded from the historical and regional positions, that is, orthodoxy is offered (as a leading religious factor) for Eastern Ukrainian lands and Greek Catholicism for Western Ukrainian lands; humanistic attitude to the person who is seen as an existential value; critical attitude to the left-wing radical and liberal sociopolitical movements; introduction of state regulation of the economy; building a model of public relations and political system based on the structure of Catholic religious orders.

A well-known Ukrainian political scientist H. Lysyak-Rudnytsky revealed the essence of the Ukrainian conservative movement in his publications, its specific features, described its personalities, highlighting the impact of Hetman ideology on the representatives of Ukrainian clerical-conservative circles, determined the place of clerical organizations in the Ukrainian social and political movement.

With the development of the Ukrainian independent state, a new stage begins in the coverage of the history of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (UGCC), Christian social movement, and conservative ideology and political practice, and the formation of multiplicity of parties led to timeliness in addressing all aspects of the political history.

The research on church-state relations is the main topic of S. Zdioruk, A. Slobodyan, and O. Shuba’s investigations, and a collective work of A. Kolodny and L. Pylypovych. The history of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, the role of the Greek Catholic clergy in addressing public policy issues
and their participation in the Ukrainian national liberation movement in Eastern Galicia in the interwar period was the topic of V. Marchuk, V. Pereverziy, V. Serhiychuk, and P. Yarotskyy’s research.

Let us try to analyze the problem of interaction between religion and politics, in this case – conservatism and Ukrainian Greek Catholic denomination, considering the participation of religious believers in political activities and taking into account the religious social doctrine, which was at the heart of the UGCC. R. Neuhaus, an American sociologist, said: “Politics and religion are different domains, and it is easy to understand the desire of many to ensure that they remain separated as much as possible. However, they constantly interlock and intertwine with one another” [1, p. 93]. This thesis gets confirmed in the works of S. Tomashivsky and V. Zalozetsky – representatives of the Ukrainian statehood school of historiography who outlined the role of the Church in the formation of Galician conservatism [2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10].

According to V. Zalozetskyi, an active participant of the Hetman movement, the decline of medieval culture that led to the elimination of the estate-corporate system as the highest work of the Christian Middle Ages [4, p. 85], and the spiritual decline as a result of loss of influence of the Christian religion on the society are the main reasons of the crisis in the society at the beginning of the 20th century. It was the desire to find a way out of this situation that caused the search of interaction between conservatism and Christianity. V. Zalozetsky describes the main tasks performed by the so-called creative conservatism in public life:

1. The creative saving tasks – to continue saving the achievements of the past in present, to enrich and improve them with further life experience, and to transfer them to future generations for further creative improvement [4, c. 86].

2. The conservative saving tasks. Conservatism hinders social progress, so that man does not run amok (an ethnographic term for a syndrome characterized by a sudden panic state with desire of relentless movement, senseless destruction and killing – U.K.), and limits the innate human
quietism (from Lat. quietus - calm, serene, dormant; a religious and ethical teaching in Catholicism, whose adherents practiced mystical and contemplative attitude to reality, complete reliance on God’s will, indifference to the good and evil; figuratively - passivity, non-resistance. - U.K.) so that it does not result in absolute stagnation [4, p. 86].

3. The dualistic tasks, based on a clear division of spiritual and material (spirit and matter) within the philosophical and social meaning. First of all, dualism appears in the “delimitation of secular and spiritual power” on the basis of autonomy and independence, and caesaropapism and papocaesarism are excluded [4, p. 87].

4. The estate-corporate tasks: on the one hand, the creation of estate hierarchy, estate elites, and on the other - the harmonious development of man, with regard to his natural talents and professional preferences. The conservative idea is focused on the respect for authority, dignity and understanding that the higher a person is in the social hierarchy, the more weighty his duties are. «The conservative idea, - V.Zalozetsky said - relies neither on individual nor collective antagonism... nor on infuriating social or national passions, but on efforts to harmonize, reconcile, reunite what divides people and move what unites people in spite of the inequality...» [4, p. 87]. Hence, the estate-corporate principle is the main regulatory principle of creative conservatism based on building the social system on estate hierarchy grounds while maintaining mandatory talents of each person. The conservative idea eliminates anything that is associated with antagonism and class struggle, «wants to give the fight, inevitable in the nature» [4, p. 87] the form of competition with restrictive rules, and due to this, the best and noblest type of person will surely win» [4, p. 87]. The conservative idea promotes respect for authority relying on the recognition of human dignity [4, p. 87] and the principle according to which, the responsibilities increase along with increasing rights.

5. Universalistic. Creative conservatism is a global phenomenon of universal importance. The issues of the conservatism affect the domestic political, inter-state and
inter-ethnic relations and regulate them. Based on the postulate of war, international opposition must be transferred into «the fight for higher noble forms of struggle, supported by certain universally obliging rules» [4, p. 87]. The basis of the universalism of creative conservatism is the principle of love for the motherland and patriotism.

6. Conservative, based on the principles of the sense of legality [4, p. 88]. V. Zalozetsky emphasizes the difference between formal legality and «the sense of legality», the latter providing a comprehensive description. It follows from the Christian and natural ethics rules, governing individual rights in relation to others, estates-corporations and the state. This leads to the fact that the guaranteed freedom of the individual is limited by responsibilities to the society and government. That sense of legality in the Conservative society is so deeply rooted that even where there is no written constitution, it regulates the relationships between citizens and the government» - V.Zalozetsky notes [4, p. 88]. A conservative society is governed not by fear of the law or punishment for a crime, but by an organic combination of legitimacy and public ethics rooted in the Christian religion. V.Zalozetsky highlights that creative conservatism precludes the use of destabilizing forces of social or national bias, individual and class antagonism, which, unfortunately, was the basis of many social and political ideologies. Conservatism uses the cumulative positive social experience and improves it on the basis of love of neighbor as the main Christian principle. The conservative outlook, due to distinct ideas, regulates and shapes irrational feelings [3, p. 309].

The latter, according nationalist gradualists, was a reactionary phenomenon. V.Zalozetsky, as opposed to them, appeals to the experience of Western European nations, that see the denial of opportunism in the creative religious or social conservatism, if only because it keeps and continues not a physical state, but all that was living, bright, patriotic, inn this land’s tradition [12, p. 178].

We can see a personal vision of relations of church and politics in the context of the prospects for the Ukrainian
state in S. Tomashivsky’s works. His socio-political position is based on the following principles: 1) an exclusive role in the future Ukrainian state development belongs to Galicia and the Greek Catholic Church; 2) Ukrainian conservatism; 3) creation of a single national idea uniting the society; 4) organic combination of national and European traditions in the Ukrainian movement.

The first stage in building a nation’s own state, according to S. Tomashivskyi, is gaining autonomy by Western Ukrainian lands and the creation of national legislation, administration, education and army [13, p. 83-84]. It is necessary to take into account the geopolitical situation, influences of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and Polish republican government, and most importantly – experience of the Ukrainian monarchy of the Galicia-Volhynia Principality and the impact of the Greek Catholic Church. The scientist believed that the monarchy would be the main core of state formation in Ukraine, as it, combined with the UGCC, contributes to the authority and order in view of the traditions of the Ukrainian people and the ability to overcome internal strife between the states and leaders [13, p. 198].

In all national disasters only the Western Ukrainian lands managed to preserve the Ukrainian spirit through links with the West and relying on Greek Catholic church and Galicia-Volhynia state tradition. But the main role in this belongs to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, which after the fall of Galicia-Volhynia principality was «the only church separate from the Polish Catholicism and Moscow Orthodoxy» [9, p. 52]. Due to the Greek Catholic Church, access to Western culture was opened. It also «saved the Western outskirts from ethnocide» and was the only national church at all Ukrainian lands [9, p. 80].

This separation of Galicia from eastern Ukraine was, according to the scientist, the reason of its belonging to the cultural models of the European civilization and especially the Catholic Church of the Byzantine rite. This view became the main factor in S. Tomashivsky's conservative concept. He noted that there is a correlation between the geographical location of Galicia and its ethnic and cultural development. The Galicians are, in his view, a kind of a
transitional ethnic group that combines the features of the eastern, western, southern and northern Slavs. In the cultural life of Galicia, the scientist distinguishes the religious component that consists of four different rites, and states that the dominant rite in the region is the Greek Catholic one, which “harmoniously blends the Eastern rite with Western dogma, the Byzantine style of churches with the western vocal and plastic thing” [14, pp. 27]. The Greek Catholicism was the factor in national-religious self-determination of the Galician Ukrainians since the implementation of the Union of Brest in 1596, which introduces the new church – universal in its essence and national in its form.

According S. Tomashivskyi, there is a direct relationship between the national idea of the Ukrainian people and the idea of the Union. The fight against the spread of the Ukrainian Greek Catholicism led to a split in the nation, which was detrimental to its development. “All Ukrainian history throughout the millennium of its existence – the scientist said – has not found even a single point where the church and cultural gap with the West would be crowned with a more lasting national benefit” [5 p. 41]. In addition, the lack of a unified national idea led to the emergence of a gap between the ideal aim and the real public policy programs in the community. The scientist pointed out that having a model national ideal, “one nationalist is a supporter of absolute monarchy, the second one – of constitutional monarchy, the third one is a Republican, the fourth one is an aristocrat, the fifth is a democrat, the sixth is the supporter of individual dictatorship, the seventh – of class dictatorship, and so on. They all will be in an endless programmatic war with themselves in the name of the same ideal” [8, p. 37-38]. Among a variety of social issues that S. Tomashivskyi touches upon, an important place belongs to the problem of leader charisma and his relations with the populace. S. Tomashivskyi tolerantly evades speaking about personalized features of leaders of the Galician political environment. He stressed that the new government of the Ukrainian state should be headed by persons with high level of education and political, civil, and cultural training.

The scientist noted that a new type of a Ukrainian
intellectual must appear, who incorporates the best features inherent to civilized European nations. He wrote: «Our ignorance must give place to knowledge, our selfishness — to self-sacrifice, our tyranny — to discipline, our intriguery — to personal public virtue, our doctrinairism — to real knowledge of people and their life, our demagogy — to public education, our paucity — to prudence, our authority — to respect for authority, our phrasemongering — to positive activities, our superficiality — to reliability, our democracy, socialism, must be replaced by cognition and understanding of real political, cultural, social, and economic values and laws» [8, p.50].

So, considering the essence of a representative of modern Ukrainian intellectuals, S. Tomashivskyi determines his characteristics: knowledge, sacrifice, discipline, respect for authority, morality, creativity, which can be brought up only by Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (especially for the Galician environment), which is their preserving and promoting factor. Within the concept of the Ukrainian conservatism, he proposed the creation of legal and clerical monarchy and declaration of territorial patriotism that would be based on Christian ethics the UGCC as one of its principles. The scientist believed that Galicia should become a kind of a mediator between the East and West due to its geopolitical position and the preservation of national and Western European traditions.

«The government — S. Tomashivsky said — creates the national state by physical means and cares about the material property of its subjects, the Greek Catholic Church keeps the international cultural communication and shapes the people’s soul» [9 p.63]. According to the concept, the Ukrainian national state should be a duumvirate of monarchy and the Greek Catholic Church, it should embody a combination of Christian and conservative doctrines.

It should be noted that the current social and political sciences should represent a balanced position in solving national problems and methods of collision prevention at the national and religious grounds. In our opinion, it is appropriate to promote a conservative theory of society, which corresponds to meritocracy in politics (the power of the best), to encourage the formation of a consistent conservative
economic program (with account of the economic peculiarities of the country and the interrelation of macroeconomics, microeconomics and «mesoeconomics»). For the issues of state formation, the promotion of conservative ideas is important – from philosophical development of conservative epistemology, philosophical justification of the religious-conservative ideology to broadcasting conservative ideology in language understandable to non-specialists, use of IT technologies, RN technologies and media. The latter, for example, was actualized in the early 20th century by a Ukrainian conservative V. Lypynskyi. He noted that the printed word, that is the laws of logic and dialectics, should influence the processes of formation of the Ukrainian state, national aristocracy and the Ukrainian nation as a whole.

Thus, with the spread of the globalization idea in all areas of the world community, it is appropriate to transport the principles and humanistic factors of the conservative ideology in order to adapt the national component to the new conditions of the information society. Ukraine's accession to the information society (including the real threat of information wars intended to manipulate not only ochlos, but the political elite), in our view, requires rooting the conservative factors based on Christian ethical principles due to studying the corresponding ideological system at specialized higher education institutions.

References: